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Preface

“New threats and challenges [...] of transnational and multidimensional nature”¹ have been central to the OSCE’s work of strengthening security and stability for some time. They are also the subject of the special focus section of this edition of the OSCE Yearbook.

With the end of the Cold War, the significance of traditional, i.e. military threat scenarios declined. In place of tangible threats emanating from a specific opponent “with a hostile attitude and enormous military capabilities that enabled it to attack one’s own territory and terminate the political self-determination of a state and a society”,² new and different threats arose. At the Istanbul Summit in 1999, the OSCE participating States resolved that threats emerge not only from conflicts between or within states, but that increasingly “new risks and challenges” demanded their attention, including growing problems with “international terrorism, violent extremism, organized crime, and drug trafficking”.³

The *OSCE Strategy to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the Twenty-First Century*, adopted at the OSCE’s Eleventh Ministerial Council Meeting in Maastricht in December 2003, remains central to the OSCE’s work. It considers preventing and combating the following challenges to be a matter of priority: terrorism (para. 10); organized crime, including trafficking in human beings, drugs, and weapons; and illegal migration (para. 11).⁴ The

1 Decision No. 2/09, Further OSCE Efforts to Address Transnational Threats and Challenges to Security and Stability, MC.DEC/2/09 of 2 December 2009, in: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, *Seventeenth Meeting of the Ministerial Council, 1 and 2 December 2009*, Athens, 2 December 2009, pp. 17-20, here: p. 17.

2 Christopher Daase, *Bedrohungen durch Extremismus, Terrorismus und organisierte Kriminalität* [Threats of Extremism, Terrorism, and Organized Crime], presentation at a workshop on “Herausforderungen der staatlichen Sicherheitsvorsorge” [“Challenges for State Security Provision], Bonn, 17 November 2010 (author’s translation).

3 Charter for European Security, Istanbul, November 1999, reprinted in: Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg/IFSH (ed.), *OSCE Yearbook 2000*, Baden-Baden 2001, pp. 425-443, paras 2 and 4.

4 The Maastricht Strategy continues to treat threats emanating from inter-state and intra-state conflicts as “the broadest category of threat” (para. 9). Alongside the new transnational and multidimensional threats to security and stability in the OSCE area, the strategy mentions additional threats to security in the human dimension, particularly discrimination and intolerance, which can take the form of aggressive nationalism, xenophobia, racism, anti-Semitism, and violent extremism (para. 12). Relevant factors pertaining to the economic and environmental dimension include poverty and unemployment, corruption and deficiencies in the rule of law, environmental degradation, unsustainable use of natural resources, and ecological disasters (para. 14). Threats of a politico-military nature include “destabilizing accumulations of conventional weaponry, illicit transfers of arms, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction” (para. 15). *OSCE Strategy to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the Twenty-First Century*, in: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, *Eleventh Meeting of the Ministerial Council, 1 and 2 December 2003*, MC.DOC/1/03, Maastricht, 2 December 2003, pp. 1-10.

strategy stresses that such threats “often do not arise from within a single State, but are transnational in character”.⁵

But what are “transnational threats” and how has the OSCE reacted to them? The key features of transnational threats are their cross-border nature and the involvement of non-state actors, such as global terror networks and criminal organizations. Secondary, yet still important features are the rapidity with which such threats can cross national borders and the interdependence of the various individual threats,⁶ as well as transnational co-operation between criminal organizations⁷ or terrorist groups. These features are frequently accompanied by multidimensionality.⁸ In the OSCE context, this means that such threats transcend the boundaries of the politico-military, economic and environmental, and human dimensions. The work of containing, preventing, and tackling transnational threats still largely falls to national and international actors, and particularly to international organizations.

The OSCE’s approach to these new challenges was summarized by the then OSCE Secretary General Marc Perrin de Brichambaut in his report on the OSCE’s efforts to address transnational threats and challenges to security and stability: “[...] OSCE activities aimed at addressing transnational threats have been geared toward specific threats, such as terrorism, organized crime and all kinds of trafficking, and specific capabilities, such as policing and border management. Experience has shown, however, that transnational threats, by definition, evolve rapidly, and that efforts to address them must be flexible and dynamic as well.”⁹

In the wake of 9/11, international terrorism initially moved to centre stage. The foundational document in this field is the *Bucharest Plan of Action for Combating Terrorism*, which was adopted at the Ministerial Council Meeting in Bucharest in December 2001. A long overdue consolidation of all the decisions, mandates, and documents passed since then was undertaken in December 2012 with the adoption of the *OSCE Consolidated Framework for the Fight against Terrorism* by the Permanent Council.

“Police-related activities” were included as among the most important common instruments to meet the new challenges as early as the 1999 Charter for European Security. Since then, numerous individual documents and decisions have also been adopted in this area. The adoption of the *OSCE*

5 Ibid., para. 7.

6 Cf. Corinna Walter, *Bedrohungsperzeptionen und regionale Sicherheitskooperation in Südamerika am Fallbeispiel Cono Sur* [Threat Perceptions and Regional Security Co-operation in South America with Reference to the Case of Cono Sur], Cologne 2008, p. 28.

7 Cf. Daase, cited above (Note 2), p. 1.

8 According to Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde, the five dimensions of security are the military, political, economic, societal, and environmental sectors; cf. Walter, cited above (Note 6), p. 16.

9 Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, *Report by the OSCE Secretary General on the Implementation of MC.DEC/2/09 on Further OSCE Efforts to Address Transnational Threats and Challenges to Security and Stability*, SEC.GAL/107/10, Vienna, 11 June 2010, p. 5.

Strategic Framework for Police-Related Activities by the Permanent Council on 26 July 2012 (based on a joint French, German, and Swedish initiative from 2009¹⁰) created a consolidated documentary basis for the OSCE's work in this area, too. On the same day, in parallel to the Strategic Framework, the Permanent Council also adopted the *OSCE Concept to Combat the Threat of Illicit Drugs and Chemical Precursors*, which was developed under Russian guidance.¹¹

Transnational threats and challenges are by definition irrevocably associated with questions of border security and border management. The key document in this area is the *Border Security and Management Concept – Framework for Co-operation by the OSCE Participating States*, which was passed at the 2005 Ljubljana Ministerial Council.

In institutional terms, questions related to combating terrorism are dealt with by the Action against Terrorism Unit (ATU),¹² while responsibility for police-related activities rests with the Strategic Police Matters Unit (SPMU).¹³ Both groups were established within the OSCE Secretariat in 2002. Border security and management tasks are undertaken by the Border Security and Management Unit (BSMU; formerly the Borders Team within the Conflict Prevention Centre).

Given the interconnectedness of transnational threats, the instruments designed to deal with them also need to fit together closely: “A neat division between different aspects of transnational threats and OSCE responses, for example, between anti-terrorism and border management, or anti-trafficking and policing, is increasingly difficult.”¹⁴ Consequently, effectively addressing transnational threats would require not only a cross-dimensional perspective but also close co-ordination among a range of bodies, including the thematic units in the OSCE Secretariat.¹⁵ On the initiative of the new OSCE Secretary General, Lamberto Zannier, therefore, in January 2012 a new department was established with overall responsibility for transnational threats (Transnational Threats Department, TNTD). Located within the OSCE Secretariat, the TNTD brings together the ATU, SPMU, and BSMU under one roof, thus enabling better co-ordination and more efficient use of the available resources.¹⁶

10 Cf. Delegation of Germany, *Statement by Ambassador Herbert Salber, Special Adviser for Security Policy, at the 2011 Annual Security Review Conference, Working Session I: Transnational threats and challenges: strengthening the coherence of the OSCE response and interaction with other international actors*, PC.DEL/661/11, Vienna, 30 June 2011, p. 1.

11 Cf. *Ibid.*

12 More information on the mandate and work of the ATU is available at: <http://www.osce.org/atu>.

13 More information on the work of the SPMU is available at: <http://www.osce.org/spmu>.

14 Report by the Secretary General, cited above (Note 9), p. 5.

15 Cf. *ibid.*

16 Cf. *New OSCE department for transnational threats established*, at: <http://www.osce.org/sg/86970>.

The special focus section of the OSCE Yearbook 2013 begins with a contribution by Wolfgang Zellner, who provides an exhaustive overview of the OSCE's approaches and strategies to combating transnational threats. He concludes that the considerable strength demonstrated by the Organization in this area in terms of agenda setting and regime building reminds us how important it is to take into account the routine functions of an international organization when evaluating its overall performance. Following this overview, experts and advisers from the OSCE Secretariat describe the Organization's efforts to combat specific transnational threats: Thorsten Stodiek provides a detailed analysis of the OSCE Strategic Framework for Police-Related Activities; Reinhard Uhrig and Ben Hiller discuss the OSCE Consolidated Framework for the Fight against Terrorism and the future priorities for the work of the ATU; and Roman Makukha, Penny Satches Brohs, and Jonathan Trumble recount how the OSCE supports the Central Asian participating States in strengthening their ability to assess, prevent, and prosecute transnational threats that may arise from past conflicts, ethnic divisions, or conflicts over resources, and whose key manifestations include drug trafficking, irregular migration, and the cross-border movement of terrorist organizations. Following these contributions from within the OSCE, Professor Thomas Feltes, a criminologist, police scientist, and lawyer, discusses German models of community policing, considering both the underlying philosophy and its practical application. Looking beyond the horizons of the OSCE, Sabrina Ellebrecht considers the EU's "common external border" and integrated border management as technologically embodied in the European Border Surveillance System EUROSUR. Finally, Kurt P. Tudyka asks fundamental questions concerning the effect of territorial state borders and reviews the OSCE's efforts to deal with border-related issues.

Transnational and multidimensional challenges also make up one of the eight thematic clusters in the OSCE's Helsinki +40 Process. In the run up to the OSCE's 40th anniversary in 2015, this initiative seeks to give a decisive boost to the efforts of the 57 participating States to create a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community, something that Marcel Peško, in the chapter on the OSCE and European Security, describes as a "chance to recreate the spirit of Helsinki". This is followed by Victor Mizin's discussion of Russian-US relations, which focuses, in particular, on arms control and disarmament. In the same section, Adam Daniel Rotfeld examines Euro-Atlantic security in an age of change and considers the possibility of renewing the transatlantic partnership.

This year's chapter on the OSCE participating States contains a wide-ranging and varied selection of contributions: Daniel Trachsler describes Switzerland's traditional commitment to multilateralism with reference to the preparations for the Swiss OSCE Chairmanship in 2014. Hans-Jochen Schmidt concerns himself with the domestic, regional, and international consequences of developments in Armenia following the parliamentary and

presidential elections in 2012 and 2013, covering topics that include the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia's relations with Turkey and Iran. Finally, Sebastian Schiek examines the prospects for success of Kazakhstan's "conservative modernization" and asks whether and to what extent patrimonial rule and economic modernization are compatible.

The OSCE's activities in the area of conflict prevention are the focus of Claus Neukirch's contribution, which examines the aspects of "early warning" and "early action", in particular.

Turning to the OSCE's three dimensions and cross-dimensional challenges, the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, Dunja Mijatović, contributes a discussion on media freedom and the internet, appealing to "our duty as citizens to ensure that the internet remains an open and public forum for the freedom of opinion and expression".

In the chapter on the institutions and structures of the OSCE, Ambassador Frank Cogan gives a personal account of the Irish OSCE Chairmanship in 2012, concentrating on the question of the "revitalization" of the OSCE sought by means of the Corfu Process and the Helsinki +40 Process. In his second contribution, Wolfgang Zellner describes efforts to establish the OSCE Academic Network, building on his account, in the OSCE Yearbook 2012, of the IDEAS project, which was envisaged as a contribution to the establishment of an OSCE network of academic institutions. Finally, Cathie Burton's contribution on "public diplomacy" describes the initial steps taken by the OSCE on its path to a new communications strategy.

The final chapter, on the OSCE's external relations focuses on two particularly fascinating topics: The OSCE's engagement with Afghanistan, and the role of the Arab League in the resolution of conflicts in the Arab world. At the end of her contribution, Arantzazu Pagoaga Ruiz de la Illa indicates that the OSCE, for all the progress it has made in implementing individual projects, still lacks a clear long-term overall strategy for its engagement with Afghanistan and consequently needs to develop one as soon as possible. Hesham Youssef, an Egyptian diplomat and senior adviser to the Secretary General of the Arab League, comes to the conclusion, with regard to the Arab League's conflict resolutions efforts, that the organization, although it can point to – not unqualified – successes in conflict mediation, nonetheless "still has a long way to go before it can be considered a successful player in resolving conflicts in this important part of the world".

We are grateful to the Ukrainian foreign minister and Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE in 2013, Leonid Kozhara, for contributing the foreword.

Finally, the publishers and the editorial staff would like to take this opportunity to thank all our authors for their contributions and positive cooperation. It is their commitment, creativity, and expertise that have made the Yearbook possible and given it its shape.